

SPRIT OF THE PRESS.

Editorial Opinions of the Leading Journals upon Current Topics—Compiled Every Day for the Evening Telegraph

THE SORROWS OF PHILADELPHIA.

It is but a few days since it was our pleasant duty to congratulate Chicago upon her triumph, as it is now our painful duty to condole with Philadelphia upon her defeat, in the matter of athletic sports. Neither Chicago nor Philadelphia is a city from which one would anticipate great achievements in this direction. A community which only relaxes its employment of making or losing money to be indigestible viands is not a community of Homer's heroes. But neither is a community which employs its brief intervals of wakefulness in pacing, with measured step and slow, between rows of sarcophagi in the similitude of human dwellings, and whose wildest diversion is to crowd its Academy miscellany of Music to hear the bodings of Anna Dickinson, as its stated disport is to rend the riddle of "Occasional."

No national Phidias would betake himself to either town in search of a model for a winner of the Olympian games.

Nevertheless there is a certain fitness in the proposition that, if the scenes of the first families of Philadelphia were to addict themselves to any physical pastime, it should be to the game of cricket. Jean Ingelow tells us that there are certain

words which more than all else bring— itself and its achievements. Upon the same principle we may say that if there were exercises lazier than rest, and pleasures bitter with a bitterness beyond the roach of grief, Philadelphia would "think on these things." As the "lilies and languors of virtue" decried by Mr. Swinburne are to the "raptures and roses of vice" celebrated by that bard, so is the gentle and respectable dulness of Philadelphia relaxation to the fevered and disorderly hilarity of Chicago.

Far be it from us to malign the ancient and honorable game, rather than the religious rite, of cricket. But it is notable that not only is Philadelphia the only American capital in which the athletic citizens have not been impatient of its languor and its length, but that it has been the fondest boast of Philadelphia that her indigenous cricketers were overmatched for the imported cricketers of Britain supposed to be surpassed by the phlegm of Philadelphia.

But now the sole athletic glory of Philadelphia has departed, and her elected eleven have defied before her saddened eyes under the British yoke. The fact that Britons resident for the most part in New York have brought this shameful thing to pass has naturally added bitterness to the cup of her grief. But we have not the slightest disposition to exult over that fact, and we may recommend even to fallen Philadelphia not to mourn as those having no hope. So much more ardent is the national patriotism than the municipal pride of New York that it will be a matter of general rejoicing within her gates that, in the pastimes in which the old French chronicler related the English to take their pleasures sadly, the address of a veteran Englishman is proved to be more profoundly gloomy than the sadness of a "Young American," even though that young American be a partaker of the drowsy and dreary sadness of Philadelphia.

THE PRESIDENTIAL POLICY OF GENERAL GRANT.

From the London Spectator. The fall elections of Congressmen in the United States are now pending, and some sharp contests are anticipated, for although the people are not immediately divided on any important questions of principle, the bitterness of party dissensions between Republicans and Democrats is as keen as it ever was. The issue that is now placed before the American people is a personal one, in choosing between Democratic and Republican candidates, the electors of the States simply say "Ay" or "No" to the question, "Are you content with General Grant's administration?" At South Bend, in the State of Indiana, Mr. Schuyler Colfax, the Vice-President of the Union, has been making a powerful defense of the Government before a meeting of his old constituents. Mr. Colfax does not come forward as a candidate, and indeed, after a public service of twenty years, he announces his intention of retiring from public life at the close of his term of service. General Grant, he thinks, will be nominated for the Presidency for 1872, and the country will then expect to have an Eastern or Southern Vice-President joined in the nomination with the Western President. Mr. Colfax, himself a Western man, waives his claim to re-election, but before quitting the scene of political conflict in his native State, he has put on record an able defense of the President's policy against the charges of the electioneering Democrats. Mr. Colfax has held the highest place in Congress; for six years he was Speaker of the House of Representatives, and was only removed thence to take the chair in the Senate as Vice-President. His statements may be received with confidence in matters of fact, and though English Liberals will not find it easy to agree with some of his conclusions—particularly in questions of fiscal policy—they will, on the whole, acknowledge that he has made out his case and proved "that the confidence reposed by the majority of the people, in 1868, in the election of a Republican President and a Republican Congress has not been misplaced."

General Grant was elected upon certain professions of political faith which Mr. Colfax enumerates. The more important are—"Equal civil and political rights for all under our national authority;" "the condemnation of all forms and plans of direct or indirect repudiation of the debt as a national crime;" "the equalization and reduction of taxation;" "the reduction of the rate of interest on the public debt as soon as refunding became honestly possible;" and "administrative retrenchment." Besides these important and practical pledges, there were others of a more sentimental character; "peace" and sympathy with oppressed peoples; "amnesty to all who co-operate in restoring concord to the South;" and "the European doctrine of 'once a subject always a subject' to be resisted at every hazard;" and "foreign emigration to be considered as sacred obligations." These were the promises that General Grant made to the people when he obtained power. The Democrats who now assail his administration offered a determined opposition to the performance of several of these pledges, they still challenge the policy of others; and with respect to the rest, they insist that the President and his advisers have not kept faith with the nation. Mr. Colfax traverses all the points of the Republican

programme, and proves by facts how thoroughly it has been carried out.

The great struggle for securing "equal civil and political rights to all" has at last been brought to an end by enactment of the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution. Like the thirteenth amendment, which wiped out the stain of slavery, and the fourteenth amendment, which gave the negro civil equality before the law, the fifteenth amendment, which forbids that race or color should anywhere be made a ground of political disability, was carried in the teeth of a violent Democratic opposition. The difficulties, however, were overcome, and the assurance of the Republican programme in 1868, "we will make the Declaration of Independence a living reality on every inch of American soil," was nobly accomplished. Against this part of President Grant's work it is vain for the Democrats to protest now, so they pass it by in silence. But it is nevertheless a pledge redeemed, and one of the greatest. Next in importance is the question of the debt. The Democratic policy has generally favored repudiation either in its naked form, or in the shape of proposals to "tax the bonds" or to pay them off in greenbacks. Every scheme of the kind the administration of General Grant has resisted as "a national crime," and Mr. Colfax does what may be useful in Indiana, but it is not necessary in this country, when he shows by argument the impolicy as well as injustice of these plans. Let it should be said that the Democrats have ceased to entertain their plans of repudiation, Mr. Colfax quotes a resolution passed only three months ago by a Democratic convention in Ohio, which affirms "That the so-called war debt is a fraud and a swindle, and was created under false pretences, and in violation of the Constitution; we are, therefore, uncompromisingly in favor of repudiating the whole of the bonded war debt of the United States." Such audacious declarations as these cannot fail, as Mr. Colfax observes, to weigh down American securities in the Bourses of the world, and they have succeeded too well in retarding the natural enhancement of American credit. In this way they have delayed the accomplishment of another of General Grant's pledges, the refunding of the debt at a lower rate of interest. But in spite of their efforts to defeat the result, Congress was able to pass in its last session a Funding Bill, which would gradually sell off the existing 6 per cent. bonds, and issue new securities at 5, 4, and 3 per cent. "By the more faithful collection of our revenues," says Mr. Colfax, "our retrenched expenditure, and the consequent monthly reduction of our debt, the premium on gold had dwindled down to about 10 per cent., and our 6 per cent. bonds had become 'worth their face' in the recognized currency of the world." Unfortunately, the outbreak of the European war and the consequent suspension of the money markets have advanced the premium on gold, and weakened the price of the bonds of all nations. In consequence, the refunding scheme has for the present been postponed, but that it can and will be carried out is not to be questioned. While making this effort to reduce the permanently accruing charge for interest on the debt, the administration of President Grant has also been laboring to diminish the capital amount. During Mr. Johnson's last year of office none of the debt was paid off; in the first eighteen months of the Grant administration nearly one hundred and seventy million dollars were cleared off, and the existing Democratic Government has made an annual charge for interest of only a million dollars, or almost one million and three-quarters sterling.

How have these immense operations been possible? Mr. Colfax answers, in part by the unparalleled recuperative power and progressive force of the nation, but in part also by administrative efficiency and honesty. The Democrats assert that the Government of a Democratic President and Congress would fall far more lightly on the people. Mr. Colfax takes two instances; the Democratic administration of President Buchanan before the war, and the existing Democratic Government of the city of New York. He calculates that under Buchanan the expenses of Government amounted to two and a quarter dollars per head of the population—in gold, he is remembered, and at the low prices ruling before the war; while under Grant the average is but two dollars a head, in paper, and at present high prices. Again, the Democratic rulers of the city of New York spend nearly 24 millions of dollars a year on the government of one million of inhabitants—which rate of expenditure, if they were to govern the United States, with a population of forty millions, would demand a revenue of 900,000,000 of dollars. Comparing the last eighteen months of Mr. Johnson's Presidency with the first eighteen months of General Grant's, we find that the expenditure, not including interest on debt, of the former was \$328,000,000, and of the latter \$245,000,000. In the same periods the interest on the debt was respectively \$211,000,000 and \$193,000,000; showing a total decrease in the public charge during the year and a half of the Grant administration amounting to more than \$100,000,000. These splendid results the Democrats cannot well impugn, and they are driven to strange straits in attacking the financial success of the Government. An able critic compares the taxes levied in the last year of Mr. Johnson's term with those levied in the first year of the new presidency, and finds a balance of incomes for the latter of nearly 28,000,000 of dollars. He adds, "This is a reduction of taxation with a vengeance!" It happens that in the two years precisely the same taxes were in force, and if the revenue from them was so much larger under General Grant than under Mr. Johnson, the reason was, not that the people were more heavily burdened, but that the collection was made more faithfully and stringently, and the excise" aroused to activity, and the scandalous power of the "whiskey ring" broken. All through the finance of the States the same improvement was manifest. On the receipts from internal revenue, customs, and land sales, there was an increase of 87,000,000 of dollars during the first eighteen months of Grant's rule, compared with the last eighteen months of Mr. Johnson's. And in the last session Congress felt the financial position to be so sure that it proceeded permanently to reduce taxation—at the rate of \$55,000,000 per annum internal taxes, and \$25,000,000 on the tariff—and so to perform another of the great pledges of the Republican programme.

It is unnecessary to follow the minor questions on which the General Grant has carried out the promises of his party; the liberal treatment of pensioners claiming recompense for their meritorious conduct in the war; the fiscal triumph of the Republican policy of the Homestead acts over the corrupt Democratic practice of land grants to railways and other corporations; the revision of the naturalization laws, which secure to every foreigner naturalized as an American citizen the full privileges of that status, whether at home or abroad. These are, no doubt, successes for which the United

States should be grateful to her Republican administration and Congress; but after all, they are insignificant compared with the great financial problems which General Grant and his advisers seem to be in a fair way to solve. Until the Democrats can show a record of more magnificent success in administration and fiscal reform, until they learn to respect common honesty and decency in their public declarations, they need not expect to supplant the Republican party in the confidence of the nation.

THE NEW POLITICAL POWER—THE PARTIES OF THE FUTURE.

From the N. Y. Herald. Change and progressive development in the political world are as much the result of fixed laws as changes in the material world. All really great statesmen recognize this fact and shape their policy accordingly. The failure to recognize it, and to proceed more mischievous than the States' rights theory, has been any other cause. History is full of examples to show the truth of this. One may be mentioned as particularly striking to the American people, because it comes home to all of us. We refer to the dogged and foolish conservatism of the old States' rights and pro-slavery party of the South. That party lived always in the past, and clung to old ideas, even to the point of rebellion, when these ideas and the system founded on them were undermined by the development and progress of the country and public opinion. We have seen the consequence in a great civil war, and the destruction of both the extreme States' rights theory and African slavery, which was the corner-stone of it. So it is with similar great revolutions in other parts of the world. It is this obstinate adhesion to the past, and resistance to progress which are shaking the monarchies and aristocracies of Europe to their foundations, and which have been the cause of many revolutions during the last century.

These mutations in the political world, which result from a change in the condition or growth of nations, give rise to new parties or to a modification of the policy of old ones; for, as we said, those which do not march with the times become extinct or powerless. In this age, too, we see greater and more rapid changes than were seen in preceding ages. The quickening influence of the modern agents of civilization—the telegraph, railroads, the public press, and the surprising discoveries in science and mechanical art—makes one year of the present equal to a century of the past. We are bounding forward with wonderful celerity. The material progress of the age operates powerfully upon political affairs. Hence we see political parties drifting into an alliance with these new powers of material development. This is more apparent in the United States than elsewhere at present, because we keep up with the times more than any other people, although the same effect will be produced in all civilized countries sooner or later.

The railroad interests of this country, for example, begin to exercise a powerful influence with and through political parties, and in both the National and State Legislatures. In fact, they are nearly supreme. In many cases they are irresistible. The capital invested in our railroads approaches the amount of the national debt, and the gross income from them swells up to hundreds of millions annually. The power this vast sum gives, if concentrated, is greater than that of the Federal Government itself. Talk of the power of the United States Bank, or even of the existing national banks, as powerful as they are, that is small in comparison. Then look at the thousands upon thousands of employes, contractors and agents of these railroads, together with those peculiarly interested in them, and it will be seen at once what an influence they have in elections and over legislation. We know, indeed, that nearly all the State Legislatures can be controlled by them; and that they can do pretty much as they please with Congress. Besides the power which their enormous capital and control over the voters give these railroads, there is, perhaps, a majority of the members in both the National and State Legislatures directly interested in them. The telegraph system, too, though yielding less capital, and less powerful, is fast becoming another great power in the land. The magnates who control that, as well as those more influential ones who control the railroads, begin to form an alliance with political parties. The sagacious leaders of these political parties see at the same time the value of such a combination, and are working to effect that.

Our Tammany leaders, with their usual tact, are in advance in this new movement. They have captured already the two great lines of railroad which centre this city—the Erie and New York Central. Jay Gould, Fisk, and Vanderbilt find it to their interest to be in the same boat with Tweed, Sweeney, Hall, and the other Tammany magnates, and these latter gladly accept the powerful aid of the railroad chiefs for political ends. While the Republicans are floundering about in uncertainty, having nothing to look for the future but the personal popularity of General Grant, and while they are spending their strength in abuse of Tammany, the Democratic leaders are quietly grasping a power—the railroad power—which will secure to them the State, with all its spoils, and lay the foundation for a more extended influence in the republic. Nor will such a combination of railroad chiefs and interests with political parties be limited to New York. It will extend throughout the country. But New York being the centre of railroad concentration and wealth, and the two great trunk lines of Erie and the Central being already in alliance with the Tammany leaders here, the Democrats have the best prospect of securing this new and mighty power throughout the greater part of the country for their ascendancy hereafter.

We have the key here to the probable future of political parties in this country. Old issues are worn out. The Democrats, always more vigorous than their opponents, have long since had a platform to stand upon, had a long lease of power up to the split in 1860, and election of Lincoln. The States' rights doctrine, which received its vitality from slavery in the South, was their platform up to 1869. But the war swept that away. The revolution was complete. With the extinction of slavery and the amendments to the constitution it is impossible to go back to the past. The Republicans, however, have in their partisan zeal and centralizing theories carried the revolution to a limit disastrous to the American people. They have used up the negro issue, the war feeling, and every other available political resource, and know not where to stop now in their revolutionary tendencies. Had it not been for the issues of the war and the personal popularity of General Grant, they would hardly have maintained their power so long. It is possible General Grant may carry the party through the next Presidential election; but, judging from all the signs of the times, that will be the end of it. The Democratic party, learning wisdom from the past and modifying its policy to accom-

plished facts and the exigencies of the times, has a future before it. Using the new powers of the age we have referred to, and standing upon a conservative platform, it is to arrest the revolutionary tendencies of the Republicans and preserve the harmony of local State Government with Federal authority, the Democrats may again attain the ascendancy and have another long lease of power.

A TALE OF MODERN LIFE.

The celebrated cause of "Flynt vs. Coolidge" will doubtless be long remembered in Boston. It engaged the attention of judges and juries, on and off, for nearly fourteen months. Some very fine exhibitions of forensic eloquence were elicited in the course of the trials. The plaintiff is none of your common dress-makers. She is a person of a "high grade," as her counsel informed the court. One of those who do not work for the crowd. People who employed this illustrious female were obliged to present themselves humbly before her with a certificate of "gentility" in their hands. It is said of a certain English tailor that he will never make clothes for a man unless he is properly introduced by a member of the peerage. The incomparable Mrs. Flynt borrowed a quill from this worthy tailor's goose. Moreover, she provided elegant apartments for her customers, where they ran no risk of meeting other customers. It was strictly a private establishment. All this is very interesting. There are few people who will not turn aside now and then from the graver cares of life to be instructed in the art, or science, or whatever the thing is to be called, by which the fair sex are enabled to make so striking a figure in the world. But the opportunity very seldom comes. We only see the vast and admirable result, and are left to guess by what agencies it is accomplished. "Canst tell how an oyster makes his shell?" asks poor "King Lear." How much less can we explain how a fashionable lady prepares her gorgeous raiment. But Mrs. Flynt has drawn aside the curtain. Perhaps some of the romance is gone, but we have at least increased our stock of information. It is like the case of a young lady who has all sorts of sentimental fancies about the moon, until one day she learns that the object which looks so interesting is a melancholy chaotic mass of extinct volcanoes, without light, atmosphere, or anything else which can be called its own.

Mrs. Flynt, whose name we mention with the deepest awe, had exercised her unequalled skill for the benefit of a lady of Boston, whom it is sufficient to describe as the defendant. We cannot pretend to give a full account of the great creature's bill. The document is rather technical, and the evidence taken at the trial did not go far to elucidate it. It consisted largely of testimony concerning basting and pinning, and scollops, secumblers, bernani, and other mysteries which only the initiated can explain. But one feature in the account at once arrests attention—it is that, probably, which struck the husband of the defendant with consternation. The heavy charges were not for making the dresses, or even for the material thereof, but for "trimmings." In fact, a lady seems made of trimmings. In this case they cost from three to four times as much as the dress. This is quite according to the principles of modern art, but perhaps Mrs. Flynt rather overdid it. Her bill was nearly all "trimmings"—an intolerable deal of sack to a very little bread. "Everybody could not afford that style," the counsel explained to the jury. Perhaps most husbands would rather not afford it, if they had any voice in the matter. But foremost among the inalienable rights of woman is the right to choose her own trimmings. She appears to care more for that than about good government or honest judges, or any silly questions of that kind. Mrs. Flynt managed to run her bill up to close upon \$2000 on the strength of these ornaments. We do not see much else in her account except some "pads, shot, and bones," which are probably not new at the whole set. When the husband called upon her to see if she would not reduce the amount of her bill, she flung him from her presence with all the contempt becoming a dress-maker of "high-grade," and called him a "miserable sinner"—and so no doubt he was, very miserable. As it is always pleasant to record the triumph of virtue, we are glad to say that Mrs. Flynt won her action. But the jury lopped off rather more than \$800 from her bill, which we are afraid may have caused some distress to a woman of her tender susceptibilities. However, there are other ladies who require basting and pinning, bones, shot, and scollops, and they will doubtless advise Mrs. Flynt to get these indispensable adjuncts to beauty. Such is the story. "Some may say that there is not much in it—but in days when ladies think it a matter of no moment that a great and intelligent community should be deprived of all its liberties by a gang of political adventurers, when they can look with complacency on the degradation of social life, and think it troublesome to have their attention called to the fact that their husbands are robbed, their sons demoralized, their daughters insulted, by the gang which rules in New York—in such days, we say, perhaps the exciting narrative we have laid before them may be found quite to their taste."

WILL THERE BE A RIOT?

From the N. Y. Sun. Many people suppose there will be a terrible riot on election day. They expect that the supervisors of election and the deputy marshals appointed under the act of Congress will come into collision with the police and people of this city; that United States troops—of whom it is said that several thousands are being assembled at Governor's Island—will be called in, and that extensive bloodshed will follow. We don't believe a word of it.

In the first place, the object for which the law was passed by Congress, and the inspectors and marshals appointed, is right and laudable. It is to prevent fraudulent voting and counting, to secure honesty in the election. There is no more serious danger to the community than false voting and false counting. It nullifies the will of the people, makes free institutions a fraud, and sets up the meanest kind of tyranny—the despotism of cheating—in the place of democratic government. It must be put down, and the honest men of all parties ought to be grateful to Congress for attempting to put it

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The law may have imperfections; that can be determined only by experience; but its purpose is good, and good men should earnestly desire that in its workings it may prove perfectly successful. No opposition to it can come from any upright citizen of any party. So far as this class of men are concerned, there is no danger of a riot.

Neither is there any danger from the roughs and repeaters who do the bidding of the Tammany Ring. A riot would work more injury to Tammany than to any other set of politicians. This city is the stronghold of the Tammany party, and a riot on election day, reducing their majorities, vitiating the returns from this part of the State, and finally resulting in the rejection of candidates who would otherwise be declared elected, is something that Tammany will take particular care to avoid. Therefore let those who are frightened beforehand by the buzz of a riot, dismiss all their terrors. There is no reason to fear any unusual disturbance at the election. Every qualified voter will have full liberty to deposit his ballot, and we trust that the result will be an honest as well as a peaceful election.

SPECIAL NOTICES.

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